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ABSTRACT

Learning in community schools is not solely book learning but is practical and related to the environment. Some related assumptions are that the school can be an instrument of social change and the community is the teaching laboratory. Case studies of some community schools in the United States, the Philippines, and Africa indicate that they succeed when the community is ready for change, the school is a terminal institution, and staff members are trained as both teachers and community developers. (MLF)

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Community School In Africa : Is There A Lesson For Papua New Guinea ?

E.R.U. Report 15

(February, 1975)

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"Without investigation there is no right to speak."

Mao tse tung

Introduction:

The projected plan for educational development in Papua New Guinea calls for the creation of Community Schools.

In the history of community schools in other countries one discerns a fluctuating pendulum, a twenty year cycle of interest. Attention has turned to community schools at the turn of the century, again in the 1930's, followed by a resurgence of interest in the 1950's and now again in the 1970's.

Is there anything to be learned from the experiments with community schools in Africa that would be relevant to Papua New Guinea? The purpose of this paper is to examine what has happened in community education in Africa and see what lessons this has for Papua New Guinea.

To do this we will need to consider what is a community school, and briefly examine what community school experiments were like in the United States in the 1930's and the Philippines in the 1950's.

In many places Community Schools have not been successful. Why is this so? The social action or change advocacy role of schools can not be evaluated in isolation, one must consider the place of schools in the wider society. If the Community School has failed what has happened to its greater counter part, self-help and community development?

At a time when the Community School is again an attractive educational alternative to many people it is necessary to evaluate the significance of research findings for this approach to educational planning and development. Not *all* Community Schools are a failure at all times and in all places. What can be learned from the successes? Are there alternative ways that Community Schools can be institutionalized and developed that overcome some of the factors that appear to account for failure? These questions hopefully will be answered in the concluding section.

1. What is a Community School?

> "In my scheme of education there can be no subject or study which can not be correlated to craft or environment. A teacher who cannot correlate tis lesson to craft or environment is useless to the School."
>
> Mahatma Gandhi

The Community School as an organized system of education and an approach to community development has its origins in the United States. During the depression years of the 1930's, mainly in rural and depressed parts of the Southern United States, educational experiments developed that have since been termed "Community Schools." The literature concerning the community schools is fairly extensive. (See Bibliography) The majority of it dates during the late 1930's. Though urban counter parts to the rural community school did develop in the US most communities found other ways to cope with their problems of community improvement and did not evolve community schools. This is probably related to the advent of World War II and the great transformation of American Society that followed 1939. This does not mean the communities no longer have problems or that schools are no longer community centered. The transition to a time of full employment

and increased income, coupled with increasing urbanization and suburbanization, plus a spread of social services, has assisted in the decline of community schools, a demise of what was never a large movement.

The Community School in America has a number of typical characteristics:[1]

First: The students and teachers use the resources of the community as the core of the curriculum, relating the major content of the curriculum to what is happening and can be studied in the community.

Second: The school, is used, not only by the children, but by the adults of the community, serving as a community center, a place for adult education and recreation, a focal point for the community.

Third: The teachers are full participating members of the community, with the children, and carry out projects of community development. These projects are part of the academic activities of the school, but they also bring together the children and the adults of the community to act on mutually agreed on community problems and improvement projects.

The first and second aspects of the community school are often found to varying degrees in any good school. It is when all three are combined that we have a Community School.

Though community schools have worked in urban areas most of them have been in rural communities:

> The community school idea has worked best in rural communities where the school building makes a natural and needed community center, and where there is little competition from other organizations for the free time of children and adults. In such a community it is easy for people to see the advantages of cooperation through the school. The local problems are apt to be concrete ones, such as getting a local library started or getting the services of a public health nurses; many of the problems are ones on which children can help directly.[2]

The little research that was done on community schools in the 30's demonstrated that children could learn "from the shop, the land, and the community, without loss in formal subjects," as they compared favourably with control schools in reading, writing, math, history, geography, science and hygiene where a conventional curriculae was followed.[3]

A report on a community school in rural Georgia indicates the variety and level of activities that students and adults were involved in and tasks accomplished.[4]

> A school was at the center of each undertaking. The first steps were taken in each case by the children with their teachers and student teachers. All of this was considered as part of the training of teachers for rural schools.[5]

From these first steps grew school lunch programmes, cooperative harvesting machinery, cooperative canneries, a cooperative mill, additional school rooms for adult education and crafts rooms for women. A market for milk was developed in a town to help encourage dairy farming (the first such effort in the state). Curing houses for sweet potatoes were built where as previously over 50% of the crop was lost. A credit union was started by mill hands - a step which helped to free them from ursury and build cooperation and confindence - steps that made possible the formation of a union a few years later.

But the reader may be wondering, if the Community School was so successful, even if temporarily during the depression in the US, that was still in a "developed country" so what relevance does this have to lesser developed countries? We have examples from other countries, such as "basic education" under Gandhi in India, and in the Philippines in the early 1950's the Community School Movement became a national program, first at the primary level, then at the secondary.

The Philippine Community School Movement had its beginning in a few communities and was assisted in their direction by Pedro Orata, a Filipino educator who had in the 30's worked at a community school on an Indian Reservation in the United States.[6]

In the early 1950's the Philippines was an under developed country, highly rural with a poor agrarian economy. In many parts of the islands the school was the only government agency in the area. The teachers in these isolated schools were viewed with respect by the people in the community who often turned to them for help and advice. The school buildings served as a reference point for the community both physically and psychologically. A degree of cooperation and reciprocity existed between the teacher and the community. The teacher, as the most educated person in the community, would be consulted on many levels. In turn the parents would help build the school and keep it in repair. But a void existed between the interaction of the teacher and community and the actual content of the syllabus. The school remained a small, isolated, 'ivory tower' with a strong academic discipline based on rote learning, a bookish approch, content based on a "foreign" curriculum.

Pedro Orata's first step out of this empass was to introduce into the classroom community problems for the children to study. Such a change in the school program is based on the proposition that:

> The most relevant and functional materials which can be found for building an indigenous school curriculum resides in the problems of daily living that people face at the community level.[7]

The list of accomplishments of the community schools in the Philippines during the early fifties is most impressive and would make any community development officer envious. Schools have been built, enlarged, land drained, the level of inundated land raised, piers built, reading centres, maternity centres, bandstands, ballfields, artesian wells, monuments, teachers' homes, toilets, community centres constructed, local industries from local materials encouraged, new farming techniques introduced, dykes and fish ponds dug banana orchards established, recreation centres libraries, museums built, boy scout, girl scout and 4-H clubs started, homes cleaned, pigs enclosed, manure saved and used, compost heaps begun, bridges and roads built and drained, flowers planted, goats introduced for milk, weaving, basket making, furniture making set up, health centres built and people innoculated. All these things were accomplished through schools and related to the learning of the children. These material advances have been preceded by days, weeks, even years of study and work. They represent in each community the culmination of a long process of involvement in community affairs by many people giving their time, thought, energy and meager capital.

II. The 'community school' (American or Philippine style) is not to be naively introduced into entirely different social situations in [developing countries] and it is always to be remembered that a school is a school, not a place where children are to be set to work building latrines and stock piling fishponds, and cleaning streets, in the name of village improvement for its own sake. But the general idea is a sound one, and if it is to get into the village schools, the impulse must first be felt in the training colleges.[8]

-- Report on the Mission to Survey Community Development in Africa 1956.

What is the place of the Community School in Lesser Developed Countries?

On the surface it would appear that the Community School has many natural advantages to offer to LSD's. Where a society is undergoing change, economic, political, social, cultural and educational, where schools are just being established and children going to school whose parents never went to school, where individuals and communities have an assortment of "felt needs" that are not being met, it might be concluded that this is an excellent situation in which to establish Community Schools.

What has been the experience in Africa?

At the present time Community Schools are not being eagerly embraced in Africa, with one major exception, Tanzania, where eight years after "Education for self-reliance" a programme of Community Education Centres is being inaugurated. In the past a few outstanding schools as isolated institutions have for a period been successful as Community Schools: the

Jeanes Schools in Kenya, the Klay Schools in Liberia, in some respects Achimota in Ghana, Mayflower in Nigeria, and the Litowa Primary School in Tanzania.[9] But in general, education in Africa, even after a decade of independence, remains remarkably similar (though serving different functions) to that inherited from the Colonial power.[10]

The community school as a form of education organization has been recommended before. During the Colonial period it was intergrated into the programmes for "Mass Education."[11] But the U.N. team of experts surveying community development in Africa found in 1956 no comprehension of the role that schools might play, nor were they expected even to visit schools. Yet they suggest that even where community development has failed that the school might be the point where community development can begin:

> The schools may then provide the only useful opening for community development work. The best strategy may be to consciously work through them, paying special attention to the orientation of the schools, the selection and training of the teachers, and collaboration with departments of education and community development in such districts, watching carefully for opportunities to stimulate the adult population.[12]

The United Nations continues to recommend the Community School as an approach to development, most recently, in 1971 and a project in Uganda, the "Experimental Integrated Project on Education for Rural Development, Namutamba, Uganda." The idea is simple, straight forward, and sound in philosophy and intent, what then is worng? Why haven't Community Schools made their mark on the educational map of Africa?

> ...childhood should be given its full measure of life's draught, for which it has an endless thirst. The young mind should be saturated with the idea that it has been born in a human world which is in harmony with the world around it. And this is what our regular type of school ignores with an air of superior wisdom, severe and disdainful. If forcibly snatches away children from a world full of the mystery of God's own handiwork, full of the suggestiveness of personality. It is a manufactory specially designed for grinding out uniform results. It follows an imaginary straight line of the average in digging its channel of education. But life's line is not the straight line, for it is fond of playing the seesaw with the line of the average, bringing on its head the rebuke of the school. For according to the school life is perfect when it allows itself to be treated as dead, to be cut into symmetrical conveniences. And this was the the cause of my suffering when I was in school. For all of a sudden I found my world vanishing from around me, giving place to wooden benches and straight walls staring at me with the blank stare of the blind."
>
> -- Rabindarath Tagore
> in MY SCHOOL

III. Why hasn't the Community School flourished?

In the first section we gave a three part definition of what the Community School should be. Some assumptions related to this model needed to be considered: 1) that the school can be an instrument of social change now; 2) that students will learn the content expected of them in a traditional school equally well if not better in a community school where the learning is related to the environment and practical work and not solely book learning; 3) that the community is the teaching laboratory; 4) that existing teachers can teach in the new ways required of them in a Community School.

The first set of factors are those concerning social change. There is no definite set of optimum conditions for the community school, but it is obvious that the community must be either in the process of transition or at the point where the people are ready for change and able to cooperate. There is a sizeable literature on the problem of change and community development which can be extended to apply to the community school as an instrument of community development. The community survey must be accurate. The projects chosen must be manageable for both the school and community in terms of time, labour, materials and costs. The community should be united, not divided by the community school emphasizing unrecognized differences and conflicts. Besides meeting the "felt needs" of the people, the community school projects should produce some immediate and visible results, benefit the greatest number of people, and appeal to both the sentiments of self-interest and cooperation.

Even where a school may temporarily be transformed into a successful community school, as an institution it still remains a part of the larger society and must usually meet the objective that an educational institution has in that society. Schools as sorting and allocating institutions for further education and occupations have a function in society that is in contradiction to their purpose as community institutions. In nations where this process of selection is based on performance on terminal examinations this structure dictates policies and proceedures to the schools which may be in antithesis to the community school approach as a conflict is generated between the type of teaching and learning that relates to passing examinations set externally to the school on a national basis and the experential approach which is at the core of a community school. Communities like Litowa in Tanzania

temporarily dealt with this by creating an atmosphere where none of the pupils aspired to further education, thus negating the sorting and allocating function of the school, but most communities can not enjoy the luxury of denying further education to their youth, but instead demand that they have their fair share of the pool of potential leaders. Where the school can be a terminal institution and not have to serve the dual role of educating some for the next level in the pyramid, it stands a better chance of evolving an education which contributes to communal living. Otherwise parents and pupils may resist activities which divert from the sorting and allocating function of schools as they remain concerned over who passes and who goes on.

Perhaps the most important variable in the success of a community school is the staff. In the community school teachers have new demands placed on them. They must not only qualify as teachers but they also must be trained in community development. This dual role of the teacher in the community school raises many questions concerning the training of these teachers and their function as teachers. At this point it is sufficient to point out that the community school teacher must have a clear understanding of the community as it is and a vision of what it can be. His leadership is crucial in the success of the community school. The teacher-leader should be one with the people, work with them, dress as they do, not be above the people, but be able and willing to work together with them with his hands, yet still know when to with draw from a project and let the community do it. Yet so far in Africa few teachers have demonstrated that they are able to combine both roles and do it effectively. It is easy to pronounce the bromides as to what a teacher in a community school

must be like, but another thing for it actually to happen as few teachers meet the requirements of both roles, and even if they do they have not been trained to do so.

One should also note that in all the discussions concerning the "adaptation" of education in Africa to local conditions, that the community school was one such form that was considered, particularly during the Colonial Period. But it is the very nature of the Colonial situation that worked in opposition to any such adaptations as they were considered irrelevant or were seen as an attempt by the colonial powers to give an inferior education to the people, and were thus resisted.[13] Thus one might have anticipated that following independence opportunities would have existed for innovation in education, but though the scale of operations has altered, and the educational systems have been dramatically expanded, there have been remarkably few innovations, with the exception of Tanzania. The constraints on innovation are numerous, and not confined to problems of finance, but relate to the total manpower situation and the limits in administrative capacity to effect change. It remains true that to become a rural primary teacher in Africa is to have failed to enter secondary school, and to become a teacher remains a "second choice."[14]

But before one to hastily criticizes the schools for failing to become Community Schools, it is necessary to see what has happened to community development itself. If community development has failed what reason is there to expect that the schools can succeed? The community school may only be successful to the degree that it is a part of wider and concurrent changes in the society that facilitate its development. If these are lacking is it sensible to expect

the school to be an instrument of change?

Community development is a product of economic development and not a cause of it.[15] Community development attempts to put the community before the individual, but schools also serve the aspirations of individuals (parents and pupils) and many institutions begun as community centres have been transformed by their participants into pseudo-schools and lost their community focus. Community development efforts tend to be cultural determinist (culture changes man), amelorative (through rural uplift we can avoid wider social problems), promote a welfare approach to social change (mother craft, recreation, cleanliness, home ventilation, flower gradens), and assume that people in rural areas are unemployed or under employed and have the time to be involved in community development activities (when in actuality work which is culturally defined may fully involve people and not constitute unproductive idelness). But as with any program the critical variable is staffing, and community development has suffered from a lack of personnell (even having to employ as community development officers people who were expelled from teaching) poor organization, inadequate field techniques, finances and objectives, and limited benefits, often with those who benefited coming from certain strata so that the consequence of activities was to enforce social differentiation and stratification instead of the intended consequence of enhancing cooperation. Many "communities" are apathetic, resistive, disintegrated, and simply not ready for Community Development as defined by others.

Given all these reservations is it possible to train teachers to teach in community schools? Only if the controversy connected with Community Schools is confronted and mastered within the

teacher training colleges. The dichotomy between school and community has those who say that the school is not sufficently involved in the community, and on the other side those who believe the "teacher has a full time job in the school and can only prejuice this be engaging in informal education work as well."[16] This is a basic question of educational philosophy and policy. If the training given the new teacher both in school, and through supervision, negates the dicnotomy between school and community and builds an integrated approach this dilemma could be confronted.

The training of teachers for community schools must of itself be removed from a reliance on abstract theory and traditional modes of learning.

> A programme for training teachers in rural leadership will be successful to the extent to which the training school itself functions as a live community centre.[17]

The teacher training college should be an experimental school at a more advanced level, which would include study trips to demonstration centres, observation and participation in schools and community development programmes. The teacher training college concerned with community development would provide practical experience and go beyond teaching mainly the theory behind the tasks.

> ...he too has been trained only in the theory of pruning and had been given no practical training in the art of selecting and cutting. He...did not dare to take responsibility for possible mutiliation of trees which constituted the source of livelihood of the orchardists: The results were much the same in other sectors of the village workers role. He had been taught to cull

> poultry, but without touching a hen. He had been told how to organize village councils, youth clubs, literacy classes, but had not been given any opportunity to practice these skills under the supervision of the institutes instructors either in mock situations or in village situations. As a consequence his level of confidence in himself was often too low for him to initiate action within the village in areas of primary concern to the village people.[18]

Let us now go back and look at some of the cases of more successful community schools in Africa to see if there are any insights that might be drawn from their experience.

"We must run while they walk."

Julius Myerere

IV. What are the Implications of past Programmes?

In late 1968 I visited two schools in Nigeria that were at the time genuine community schools: Mayflower School at Ikenne and Ajuwa Grammar School at Okeagbe.[19] At the time Mayflower was 14 years old and Ajuwa eight. Both were private, and had foundation headmasters who were charismatic leaders with visions of what there institutions could be and their role in the community. Mayflower then had 500 students and Ajuwa 150. Both schools were closely related to the community from which they had grown and both had successful school farms (of 80 and 20 acres respectively). The schools had been built by the pupils and community and were still in the process of expansion through the combined efforts of staff, pupils and community. Though they are grammar schools and pupils take the School Certificate after five years, they have as their

objective a terminal form five programme as they realize most pupils will not continue their education but instead will take their place in their community.[20]

At Mayflower and Ajuwa much of the thrust for the development of the school and the community has come through the involvement of pupils and staff in clubs and societies, and the names of these are indicative of the ways that they are involved in the total life of the school and the community:

> sewing; printing; editing; typing; cocoa making; piggery; building; sand digging; brick laying; painting; automobile; tractor driving; publicity; engineering; plumbing; electrical; poultry; bed making; broom making; shoe repairs; tailoring; peanut making; stone picking; slaughtering; young farmers; carpentry; blacksmithing; barbering; band set (traditional drumming); etc. They also have the more conventional art, scripture,scouting; boys brigade; literacy and debating; theatre club, etc.[21]

The experience of these two schools suggests ways in which informal non-academic extra-curricula activities can be used to achieve the development of the school and its involvement in the community. At Ikenne the students also ran the local postal agency (post office), a tradestore, and a rest house and restuarant was owned by the school. In this way social and economic activities at the schools were not in contradiction to formal learning, but complemented it.

In Nigeria in 1968 the military government ordered all secondary school headmasters to visit Mayflower and adapt their programmes to the Mayflower pattern. Perhaps 200 headmasters visited the school, but there has been no adaptation. Why?

Starting in the early 1960's Nigeria tried to create its own version of the Comprehensive High School. Part of the planning was that these schools were to recruit from the local community and be involved in community activities. Neither of these objectives has been achieved: the schools had to in the absence of universal education selection their Form One intakes; and the expectations of the teachers and pupils did not encompass community involvement.

One might have expected Harambee Schools in Kenya to be community schools as as institutions they have their base in the self-help efforts of community groups, be they parents, politicans, religious bodies or all three combined. But though their origin rests in community action Harambee Schools have not become community schools, but nearly universally they have been created as pseudo-grammar schools without any applied biases. Out of 500 Harambee Schools only one that I know of seriouslly attempted to develop educational programmes adapted to local conditions, at Mua Hills in Machakos, and even this school has given up on these programmes in response to pressures from pupils and parents.[22]

Namutamba in Uganda has been mentioned as a place where the community school approach has been considered, but its location near Mityana in a fragmented community of tea estates and small holders in no way conforms to the prior conditions postulated for the development of a community school. Though some innovative programmes have been carried out at Namutamba in curriculae development they do not in themselves make a community school.

A community school that has received considerable publicity is the primary school at Litowa Ujamaa Village in the Ruvuma area in Southern Tanzania.[23] It should be noted that the innovations described at Litowa took place before 1967, the Arusha Declaration, Socialism and Rural Development, and Education for Self-Reliance, offical documents that set the guidelines for development in Tanzania --- and the experiement at Litowa and in other Ruvuma Development Corporation villages served as a model for what was possible. But again Litowa remains an exception, and its unique programme of curriculum development, planning, involvement and commitment from below of the pupils to their community has not been widely emmulated. In 1972 in Tanga Region they began experimenting with a programme whereby the primary six and seven pupils could become full members of their Ujamaa Villages in an attempt to integrate school with community, and in the future in Tanzania new schools are to be built as Community Education Centres serving the whole community.

The information gleaned from these few cases studies suggests that leadership remains the critical variable in the development of community schools. It is impossible to institutionalize charisma, but can an approach to the organization of community schools be developed which facilitiates the identification of such leadership?

The community school approach has many advantages as an educational innovation, particularly in rural areas undergoing considerable social change. Teachers in a community school can give proper consideration to the indigenous, informal educational system that is used to prepare children to be adults and continue the culture of the community. Consideration can be given to the

type of sanctions used in the community to stimulate learning and control behaviour; to the beliefs adults hold about children, the age of reason, the age of moral responsibility; the economic role of children in the community (for example, if schooling will remove children from herding or protecting crops from birds and animals, then the school can look for ways to develop substitutes like fencing which eliminates the need for constant herding to avoid cattle damaging crops and other systems to scare birds away from crops, etc.); the impact on inter-personal relations of the students of age-grade institutions, initiation, kinship relationships; who children regard as role models, what the aspirations of children are; why the parents want the school and why they send children to school and the motivation of the children.

The community school is in a position to set realistic and attainable standards in its very operation.

> In the humblest village, if a school building which is little more than a rectangular hut partitioned in two is well built of local materials, is kept clean, and is worthy though simple, that will have its wider effect. If there are proper latrines, kept clean and used, the habits of the school will become the habits of the village. If a school provides meals and the cooking is done on a stove similar in its material to those in the homes, that too will be influential.[24]

The way in which the school building itself is built can be an important factor in the development of the community school. If it is built out of local materials, in keeping with local construction, and built by the people of the community the school may have a good start in the community. A Community Centre of

permanent materials but imposed from outside may go unused while ones less pretentious built by the people may be fully utilized.

The community school can help bridge the widening gap between children and adults by providing educational service to both. The community projects carried out by the community school will serve an important function in bringing together children and adults on joint activities, developing adult leadership and responsibility instead of giving adults the feeling they are being eclipsed by a new and incomprehensible generation, and thus help to remove the mystique associated with schools and education.

The community school can assist in the process of cultural perpetuation or retention. The students can delve into their own history, mythology, music arts and crafts and help revive and preserve what previously has been turned from or labelled "inferior" or "degrading." Elderly people can be brought into the school to share their experience and memory of that of the past that belongs to the people. Instead of being ashamed of their life and culture people can be proud and involved and the community school can be part of this renaissance.

The integration of the school into the community, as Litowa demonstrated, may also transform the "school leaver" problem, as youth who see the challenge of the development of their community aspire to live and work in their village, and no longer expect to become "clerks in town." A community school movement not only would provide the base for universal elementary education (as a first step not designed to lead to further education) but through its community extension would involve school leavers in continuing education.

But the community school will remain visionary and utopian unless the development of the country takes place, as transformation can not begin in the villages, nor is it the responsibility of the schools.

Where community schools are being established the effort should also include research and evaluation. There are many questions that the researcher might try to answer.

What role are the schools playing in socialization? What problems do the schools create with their division of social control (between school and parents) and variety of solutions offered to the individual in the future (heterogenous instead of homgeneous function of formal schooling)? What do adults with little or no education expect from the schools for their children and the community? What is the role of the teacher in the transmission of values? What do pupils expect from learning and what is their motivation to study? Are the teachers being trained in ways that prepare them for the tasks of teaching? What part of what they learn in the teacher training colleges do they find useful in the schools? What are the problems confronted by the teachers and the schools in the cultures in which they operate? Do teachers fully comprehend the cultural implications of their work in the classrooms as well as in the community? What place does the school system have in the social structure of the community; how does it relate to the power structure of the community; to sub-groups within the community? How does the degree of cultural change influenced by different types of schools differ? What impact does the aspiration-realization gap have on pupils, school and community? What is the role of the peer group in the schools, the values and culture of the

classrooms; what type of interaction occurs between students, between students and teachers; between students and parents compared to non-student siblings?

The community school can be successful in individual instances: can it be translated into a national programme?

Conclusion

In conclusion a number of points stand out.

Community schools require special leadership. Leaders for community schools should perhaps have a special training which goes beyond that provided for teachers for community schools.

Teachers also need a different type of training to be teachers in community schools. For teachers to be trained in conventional ways and then be expected to perform in new ways is a contradiction that is not resolved until teacher training colleges themselves are involved in the community. Still few teachers meet the requirements of both roles, teachers and community development worker, and when they do there may be considerable role overload. Faced with the dual demands of the two roles most teachers don't have the time or energy to be first a good teacher, and second a community development worker - thus one area suffers if not both.

Students resist activities that divert from the sorting and allocating role of the schools, activities that they see as opposed to their interest in doing well on the leaving examination and being selected for the next stage so they may continue their

education and eventually become well placed in the occupational hierarchy. The contradiction between an educational system orientated towards a final examination and community education can only be resolved by using other criteria that determine who continues their education, thus minimizing the "blackwash effect" of examinations.

Community schools appear to be successful, even if only temporarily, where there are concurrent changes taking place in the society as a whole that nurture and support community schools. Schools can contribute to changes in society, but schools alone can not change society, as no revolution took place through education.

Instead of expecting teachers to play dual roles, it is also possible that additional workers trained in community skills could be affiliated to schools to carry out community work, work with school leavers, with adults and others in the community. This separation of roles and coordination of activities is part of a new approach to community education centres that is being considered in Tanzania and experimented with in Nigeria.[25]

A community development worker associated with Community Education Centre can play a role as a catalyst in development activities, many of which can be at the individual and small group level rather than in terms of school projects. Instead of settling school leavers on new land school leavers can be assisted in agricultural projects on their family's or community's land. As with Folkhighschool activities through a Community Education Centre would be to catch people at the

point of readiness - provide them assistance in an activity that they are already turning to, starting, or becoming involved in.

This also helps to avoid the institutional approach to rural development and support informal activities. Thus instead of building farm schools to send youth to learn modern agricultural, the community worker affiliated with a CEC would act in support of those entering farming in the village (and every year in every country some young people in every village become married and settle down to village life). The catalyst worker would be trained to offer assistance and advise on what ever input were suitable; seed, fertilizer, marketing, use of wet lands to grow crops out of season that then command higher prices, etc. He might assist those few youth in a village who have taken to trading, by helping them with problems of accounts, credit, small loans to expand limited stocks, or equipment to assist a carpenter or potter, etc. In this way people already contributing to rural development can be given an assist. If such activities should be done within a cooperative context, as in Tanzania, instead of supporting individual enterpeneurs, this also is possible. "We must run before we can walk."

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Notes

A version of this paper has been published in Nkanga Kampala, Uganda, Makerere University. 1975.

1. See Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education. Boston. Allyn and Bacon. 1958. Revised 1969.

2. ibid P. 207

3. L.S. Watson and Mary Watson. A community school in a Spanish speaking village. Albuquerque, New Mexico. 1948.

4. Ed Yeomans. Change in a southern community. Authors unpublished manuscript. 1956.

5. ibid P. 14.

6. Pedro T. Orata Fundamental education in an Amerindian community. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Haskell Institute. 1953 see also, the community school of the Philippines. Manila. Bureau of Public Schools. 1952; it can be done: the community school in the Philippines. Manila. Unesco National Commission of the Philippines. 1974;
Success and Failure in selected community development projects in Batangas. Manila. Community Development Research Council, University of the Philippines. 1960. Willis E. Sibley, Social Structure and planned change: a case study from the Philippines. In A case book of social change. A.H. Niehoff, ed. Chicago. Aldine. 1966. pp. 271 - 290. "Since 1956 the government has developed a new programm of rural community development separate from the school system."

7. Pedro T. Orata. The grass roots approach to education for community improvement. In. Community Education. 58th Year book of the National Society for the Study of Education. 1959. p. 150.

8. Survey of community development in Africa. New York. United Nations. 1955. ST/AAA/Ser. D. 23. p. 60.

9. Ibid. 56
see also Elspeth Huxley, A new Earth. London. Morrow. 1960. p. 111-112.

10. Philip Foster, Education and Social change in Ghana. London. RKP. 1965.

11. ibid. First two chapters.

12. Survey of community development in Africa. op. cit. p,48,

13. For a discussion on adaptation see the review of the literature on agricultural education by S.G. Weeks, Rural Africana No. 9, 1969.

14. There is an indication that where the opportunities for secondary school leavers decline that pupils will then choose teacher training first as it is perceived as leading to employment, security, tenure and a livelihood.

15. The following section is a summary of the main ideas contained in an article by David Robinson, The failure of community development. Africa Today. Vol. 14, No. 2, 1967. pp. 31 - 33.

16. Survey of community development in Africa, op. cit. p. 50.

17. James W. Green, Success and failure in technical assistance. Human Organization Vol. 20, Spring, 1961 No. 1, pp. 2 - 11.

18. Ibid. P. 4. see also, J.W. Green, Rural community development in Pakistan: the village AID program. Community Development Review Sept., 1957. p. 45 - 69.

19. S.G. Weeks, Innovation in education: comprehensive high schools in the Western State, Nigeria. In. Sociology Papers. University of East Africa. Social Science Conference, 1968 - 1969. Kampala. MISR. 1971. Pp. 493 - 512.

20. But Mayflower did try to start a Sixth Form, and as predicted this was in direct contradiction to the effort to maintain a community school. The sixth form students went on strike to protest the nature of the school, and the programme was abandoned.

21. S.G. Weeks, ibid p. 504; I visited Mayflower School again in October, 1974. Tai Solarin remains as iconclast as ever. He was one of the few voices raised against the postponement of elections, and was detained as a result of his protest.

22. See David Zarembka on Mua Hills School in Rural Africana No. 9, 1969. A recent research report on Harambee Schools in that of Martin Hill, Nairobi, Bureau of Education Research, 1974.

23. Litowa Has been written about in a number of papers. See the book by Kate Wenner, Samba Letu. Boston. Little Brown. 1970. The head teacher was Mr. Toroka who has published in Mbioni, and this article has been reprinted in Rural Africana No. 9, 1969. A.W. Wood has also described the Litowa Primary School. See for example, Community schools in developing countries, ed. H. Houghton and P. Tregear, Hamburg. Unesco institute. 1969. pp. 58 - 60.
The Ruvuma Development Corporation was closed down as it was considered to be competing with TANU.

24. Survey of community development in Africa. op. cit. p. 59.

25. See Archibald Callaway. Educating African's youth for rural development. The Hague. Van Leer Foundation 1974.

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